

NUNTIUS

Advertising and its Future

BY

GILBERT RUSSELL

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TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I ADVERTISING TO-DAY : AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY	5
II ADVERTISING TO-DAY : A SOCIAL SERVICE	21
III ADVERTISING TO-MORROW	37

NUNTIUS

I

ADVERTISING TO-DAY: AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY

For the most part the public is ill-informed about Advertising: for the rest it is misinformed. The intelligent public is particularly ill-informed. Hence there must be an explanation of what Advertising is now before there can be any intelligible discussion of what it may become. Even the very word is misunderstood.

It will be clear to everybody that after all the costs of manufacturing a commodity have been paid—i.e. the cost of the raw material, the wages of factory hands and the salaries of managers and directors, the costs of plant,

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

power, lighting, heating, insurance, rates, taxes and so forth—after all these have been paid there still remains the cost of marketing the commodity, i.e. the cost of distributing it to the places where it may be exhibited for sale, and the cost of persuading people to buy it.

Patient search amongst the writings of economists reveals that with virtual unanimity (there is one distinguished exception) they ignore this cost of marketing entirely. It is assumed that once a thing has been made an expectant public is clamouring to buy it. It is never seen that merchandise, after it has been made, must be *sold*, and that effort and expense are involved in selling it.

The startling fact is that a great many things actually cost more to market than they do to make.

Assume that an article has been completely manufactured and that all the costs of production have been paid.

AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY

Travelling salesmen or printed matter (usually both) must now be employed to persuade the wholesale houses to buy and distribute the article. Unless the wholesale houses assume responsibility at this point for distributing it to the retail shops, travelling salesmen and printed matter must also be employed to persuade retail shops to stock it. Even then "marketing" is not finished. The public must still be persuaded to go into the shops and buy the goods. All this is "marketing." It is a long process and it is an expensive process. It does not form any part of the cost of production. To ignore this process, as most economists do, is to ignore one of the large factors in the cost of living—the cost of distributing commodities.

It will have been seen that marketing covers the whole field of distributing and selling merchandise. "Advertising" can now be defined. "Advertising" is a part of marketing.

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

“ Advertising ” consists of announcements in the advertisement columns of newspapers and other periodicals, posters and electric signs out of doors, and printed matter sent through the post. It must be pointed out that “ puffs ” inserted in the editorial columns of the press disguised as news are not Advertising. Press stunts about actresses’ lost pearls are not Advertising. This is the rubbish of the press agent and is not our concern. Advertising, properly conducted, is a straightforward and honest business operation. The fact that some Advertising is neither straightforward nor honest does not disprove the general statement ; any more than the existence of a few venal doctors disproves the statement that medicine is an honourable profession.

Before merchandise can be advertised it must be identified. You cannot advertise a commodity without giving it a recognisable name or device (called

AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY

a "brand" or "trade-mark") by which the public may distinguish it.

This has a most important effect. The moment wares are distinguished by a brand ("branded," for the sake of brevity) the public has a means of knowing them *for good or ill*. If they are of good quality the brand is easy to remember. And if they are of poor quality the brand is still easy to remember—and easy to avoid.

The surreptitious manufacturer of rubbishy wares avoids brands for the most excellent reason that if he branded his rubbish those people who were deceived by its specious quality once would have been provided by the scoundrel himself with a ready means of avoiding it for ever more. If he is to be a successful scoundrel his goods must have no identity, no brand, nothing by which people can remember them. Then he may succeed in selling them rubbish continually.

This need not stand as a lonely

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

assertion ; it can be illustrated. Suppose you are a dishonest manufacturer of boots. To gorge yourself with profits you use brown paper craftily disguised as leather for the soles. By means of a cut price you can sell thousands of pairs of these boots. But everybody who buys them quickly discovers their wretched quality. Are you going to be such a fool as to brand your name on the sole so that the wary purchaser can avoid that brand in future ? Of course not. Your object is to deceive as many people as possible into buying your boots, and to deceive them into buying several pairs. Hence you will make your boots as outwardly attractive as possible but you will not allow any mark to appear on them which associates them with your name or with a pair previously bought.

It is sometimes said, in spite of this, that poor wares are branded in order that Advertising may be used to sell

AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY

large quantities of them. This would be credible if people lived in sound-proof compartments. As they do not, and as they have tongues in their heads, this suggestion fails.

On the other hand if an article is good value for the money the manufacturer wants everybody who buys it and makes this discovery to be able to recognise it easily so as to be able to buy it again. He therefore gives it a name—brands it. And if he is a man of sense he advertises it so that people may be widely informed of the advantages of buying it. Advertisements in the press explain its merits ; posters out of doors recall them. And the more widely such an article is advertised the more imperative it becomes to maintain the quality of the article. No manufacturer, having spent some thousands of pounds in popularising his brand, can afford to let its quality deteriorate. He has identified his wares. Unless he wants to commit commercial suicide

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

why should he deliberately set scores of thousands of tongues wagging about the depreciating quality of his merchandise?

People ignorantly affirm that articles are advertised because they could not be sold any other way. "A good article needs no advertisement, it advertises itself," is thoughtlessly repeated even by people of undoubted intelligence. This is a challenge to common sense. To spend money on advertising an article of poor quality and to give that article an easily remembered name so that the public had a ready means of remembering that poverty, would be the silliest commercial adventure ever known. Advertised wares *vary* in quality. They must, in order to be acceptable to people of varying taste and spending capacity. But value for value, it is beyond argument that advertised merchandise must compare favourably with merchandise not advertised. If it did not no one would buy what is advertised.

AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY

Another fallacy which must be exposed is the assertion, widely made, that the cost of Advertising is added to the selling price of the article and that this cost is born by the public : in short, that expenditure on Advertising makes things dear. There is some excuse for this frequently expressed belief. Certainly, large sums of money are spent upon Advertising. Some one must pay : it looks as though the advertiser has an expense to bear that the non-advertiser avoids. But has he ?

Suppose you are a manufacturer and someone comes along with a newly invented machine which will turn out twice as many finished products as the machine you use now, in the same time, and need only one man to look after it instead of two. It might cost £2000 to buy this machine. But by installing it you could reduce your costs of production. So you buy it. Does the public "pay" for that

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

machine? Do you have to add something to the price of your article in order to recover that £2000? Obviously not. Neither does the public "pay" for the cost of Advertising.

Or suppose you are a shopkeeper in a busy street. By pulling the blinds down over your windows you could save all the expense of dressing the windows and of the merchandise that is spoiled through being exhibited in them. Would the saving be worth your while? Shop windows in busy streets cost money—in rent, in merchandise to fill them, in the salaries of window dressers to arrange them attractively. Does anyone suggest that shop-windows *add* to the cost of merchandise? It is laughable. Of course they do not. On the contrary the shops with big windows in busy streets are able to charge less because the windows attract hundreds of people. The shop's turnover is thus increased and overhead expenses are reduced,

AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY

proportionately to it. It is seldom suggested that a big shop could reduce its prices if it saved the rent and other costs of its window displays by removing to a back street and pulling down all the blinds. But it is often suggested that firms could reduce prices if they ceased to spend money on Advertising.

Advertising is the manufacturer's shop window, and a valuable extension of the retailer's shop window.

When a piece of merchandise has been completely finished by the factory and all production costs have been paid, the manufacturer has to sell it. Marketing begins. To simplify an example, let it be assumed that the manufacturer cuts out the wholesale houses and distributes his product direct to retail shops. It will be necessary to persuade some thousands of retail shopkeepers to buy it for re-sale to the public. To accomplish this travelling salesmen are employed who call upon retail shopkeepers and

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

explain the advantages and profits to be made by stocking the article.

Now put yourself for a moment into shoes of the shopkeeper. He has a shop well stocked with a variety of merchandise. He has invested a good deal of money in stock and he does not want to invest any more. His first question to a traveller who wants him to spend yet more money in stock is "Where is the demand for this thing? My customers never ask for it. I don't want it." This is a perfectly natural attitude. The shopkeeper's problem is to stock only those goods which sell readily. Rapid turnover of goods and capital is what he is after. Hence modern firms use Advertising to promote public demand for their goods. Thus their travellers when asked "where is the demand?" are able to produce for shopkeepers' inspection portfolios containing specimens of the press advertisements and reproductions of the posters which

AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY

have been contracted for in order to promote public demand. The shopkeeper foreseeing that his customers will soon ask for the goods in question is more easily persuaded to stock them. The result is that every traveller can sell more merchandise to shopkeepers and sell it in less time. Every traveller has more time to call on other shopkeepers, or can call on a given number more frequently. Briefly, every traveller becomes a more efficient producer of sales. Here is an economy as important as if every workman in the factory worked harder and produced more goods in the same time.

This is worth suggesting because of the persistent cry for increased production.*

* If some people are to be believed, all the difficulties of British industry would disappear if only workmen would produce more goods. These people do not stop to think of what would become of the goods thus produced. Who would absorb them in the absence of increased demand on the part of the public?

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

For reasons of its own Labour resists this demand. There is no organised resistance against more efficient selling effort on the part of travelling salesmen. They usually work on salary and commission and are anxious to sell more. If the cry for increased production were changed to one for increased selling effort British industry would be well on the way to recovery.

But the economy of Advertising does not depend upon the increased efficiency of travelling salesmen by any means. By promoting large public demand—and, especially, steady public demand—for merchandise, other economies can be effected. Raw material can be bought in larger quantities and therefore at lower prices. Factories can be kept steadily at work. There will be fewer slack seasons, when workpeople must be discharged or put on part time. Just as many charges are incurred in interest on capital, rates, taxes,

AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY

insurance, and similar fixed charges, whether a factory is busy or partly idle. By procuring steady demand through Advertising, the proportionate cost of these overhead charges is lowered. As a result the efficiency of every workman, every foreman, every clerk, every manager, every director concerned in the production, distribution, and sale of merchandise, is increased. Prices are lowered by Advertising, not raised. Examination will always show that it is the wares most heavily advertised which are the cheapest and upon which the unit of profit is the smallest. Merchandise that is not advertised is dearer, or of poorer quality, often both.

In the present condition of civilisation Advertising is more than economically justified: it is an economic necessity.

II

ADVERTISING TO-DAY A SOCIAL SERVICE

It has now been shewn that Advertising lowers prices and improves and standardises quality. This alone is an enormous social benefit. If Advertising did no more than this it would be abundantly justified economically and socially. It does a great deal more however. Advertising is an educative force, a civilising influence. Through Advertising people live healthier, happier, richer lives. A few instances may be suggested.

The advertising of the British Commercial Gas Association is a co-operative movement embracing practically

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

the whole of the Gas industry. The work that this movement has done for the health and happiness of the community is of the highest order and this work could not have been done without the assistance of Advertising. Advertisements have explained how gas fires and cookers and water heaters save the drudgery of laying and lighting fires, of cleaning out sooty flues and clearing up dusty fireplaces. They have emphasised the convenience of abundant hot water procurable from geysers and coke boilers. The advertising has a more important aspect than this however. The smoke nuisance has been vigorously and constructively attacked. The curtains of smoke which hang over cities blotting out sunshine and polluting the atmosphere, thus causing children to be rickety and populations to be tubercular, are due principally to the burning of raw coal in domestic hearths.

The advertisements of the British

A SOCIAL SERVICE

Commercial Gas Association combat this evil. I am not forgetting the attention given to the subject in the editorial columns of the press. Neither must it be forgotten how effectually the advertisements focus this attention and make it a public question. Further these advertisements have ceaselessly emphasised the criminal wastefulness of burning raw coal. They have pointed out that when coal is burnt in towns and factories, national wealth is consumed. When coal is converted into gas innumerable by-products of enormous value are produced. This is a national service of the greatest value. It is not denied for a moment that with the march of progress these things must have been discovered and methods invented to deal with them. The point is that Advertising has brought the whole question before the public. Advertising has brought nearer the day when coal will be intelligently used. What implement could have

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

taken the place of Advertising to deal with this question ?

Consider again how the advertising of dentifrices and of tooth brushes has drawn attention to the necessity for better care of the teeth. This advertising has done far more than anything else to induce the masses to devote time daily to mouth hygiene. It is very largely due to Advertising that foods such as cocoa, oatmeal, etc. are now sold in clean sealed packages, protected from flies and unclean counters and scales. They used to be sold "from bulk", i.e. from sacks and bins exposed to every kind of contamination. Advertising has changed this.

In the space of twelve years a certain floor and furniture polish business grew from a one-man concern (the polish being sold by the inventor alone from door to door) to international dimensions employing labour on a large scale. This would have been an impossible

A SOCIAL SERVICE

achievement without the power of modern Advertising. This example provides an illustration of the kind of effect that Advertising has frequently had in improving the conditions of life. As the business grew, the proprietors had to seek new uses for the product. It happened that, soon after the firm's advertising started, styles in furnishing began to change. Rugs and mats were replacing carpets. This fashion for using rugs on polished floors was vigorously encouraged. A bold advertising campaign was based upon it and the scheme succeeded. Every house which discarded carpets extending to the walls of the rooms (inevitably dusty and germ-laden) and adopted clean polished floors and rugs which could be taken up and beaten, was a healthier house in consequence. Some of the credit for the extension of this hygienic idea must be given to advertising by this manufacturer (and by others who followed him). The fashion

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

would not have become so general if Advertising had not encouraged it and emphasised its advantages.

If this last example appears to be trivial or accidental, consider the increased cleanliness produced by the use of vacuum cleaners. In thousands of homes the laborious daily stirring up of dirt with dusters and brooms, most of which settles down again in the course of a few hours, is replaced by the much more sensible method of *removing* the dirt altogether in the bag of the vacuum cleaner. This has made housework lighter and houses cleaner and healthier. It could not have been done without Advertising. Advertising was essential to educate people to the desirability of the method. Large public demand was equally essential. A vacuum cleaner is a complicated mechanism. Unless it can be made in very large numbers it cannot be made and sold cheaply enough to be within reach of the masses. It

A SOCIAL SERVICE

would have been useless to make vacuum cleaners in large numbers unless widespread demand could be promoted to absorb the output. Advertising alone could enable a sufficiently large demand to be quickly created. And mark ! this was definitely creative effort. The originator of the vacuum cleaner invented a new way to make homes cleaner and healthier, a new way to lighten housework. But Advertising was the implement that made people want vacuum cleaners. And it was Advertising that enabled the invention to be placed within reach of middle-class homes. Without Advertising, vacuum cleaners could have been made only in scores where they are now made in thousands. They would have been so expensive that only the rich could have afforded them.

Similarly with practically all modern inventions. They are the satisfaction of the many, instead of the luxury of

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

the few, because Advertising assists them to be economically produced and sold.

Motor-cars, player-pianos, gramophones, wireless sets, sewing machines, to mention only a few examples ; do not these increase the comfort and happiness of people ? None of these would be possessed by the masses as they are possessed to-day if Advertising were not used to sell them. In the past, decades, and sometimes centuries, elapsed before much simpler things than these ceased to be luxuries and became part of the common life. For instance, table forks were invented about the time of Henry VII (perhaps earlier) but they did not come into anything like general use until the reign of Charles I, and they were not universally used until perhaps a century later. James I was considered a pedantic eater for using "these Italian neatnesses." How long has it taken stainless steel cutlery to become virtually

A SOCIAL SERVICE

universal in the present decade ? Modern marketing, of which Advertising is an essential part, has hastened civilisation forward. Inventors in past ages had little to stimulate them beyond their own creative passion. However clever an invention might be there was little prospect of more than a few rich people being able to afford it. To-day even a complicated invention can be put on the market at a popular price and sold in thousands in the space of a very few years.

Advertising will not merely make an invention widely known, it will *create* the large demand which is necessary before the invention can be cheaply made and sold. Nor is this educative influence of Advertising limited to the material comforts of life. Advertising creates the desire for culture. People have been induced to read more widely and to increase their stock of knowledge as a result of finely conceived and finely written advertisements of collections

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

of the classics, works of reference like the Encyclopaedia Britannica and so forth. Advertisements cleverly descriptive of the perpetual pleasure to be derived from the player-piano have led to a wider appreciation of music. In many homes where the unending joy and comfort and inspiration of music were unknown the silence of a piano which was chiefly useful as a sideboard has awakened to "the tender melancholy of Chopin, the grandeur of Beethoven, the intricate tunefulness of Liszt, the magnificence of Wagner, even . . . the patterned splendours of Bach"*. Thus musical culture has been spread.

If it is contended that many of the benefits which have just been ascribed to Advertising ought more reasonably to be attributed to modern marketing, the partial truth of this need not be denied, so long as the important part

* Quoted from an advertisement of John Broadwood & Sons, Ltd.

A SOCIAL SERVICE

played by Advertising is recognised. But in the example just discussed, Advertising was more than important : it was completely essential. It needed Advertising (and nothing else could have replaced it) to provoke the desire for music. Advertising, by skilful appeal, definitely made people feel their loss, provoked a hunger for music.

Advertising may not always be used in such a way. It is sometimes used to debase public taste instead of to educate it. But this is not the fault of Advertising : it is the fault of uneducated manufacturers. The point now is that in Advertising there is an immensely powerful means for education, and that it has already, and frequently, been used for this end. That it will be thus used increasingly, as education increases, is already apparent from present tendencies. This must be left for later discussion. What I want to combat now is the mistake so many people make of looking upon Advertis-

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

ing as an end where it exists solely as a means. Violent criticism is levelled against Advertising because it is sometimes used for selling useless commodities. The fact that it is used much more often for selling useful commodities is then forgotten. Advertising is denounced as the invention of rogues for making people buy something they do not need and would be better without. The suggestion seems to be that Advertising is the cause of useless things being sold. If these critics are to be believed it would appear that if Advertising did not exist people would never buy anything that was not useful. This is merely absurd. It is not Advertising which deserves condemnation. The critics are entitled to the opinion that certain luxuries are wasteful, but if they are, it is not the advertising of them that should be condemned but their manufacture. Advertising is not to blame, but the system which allows useless things

A SOCIAL SERVICE

to be made and sold at all. It is as though the critics argued "Night Clubs exist as a means of affording people the opportunity for dancing. Dancing is damnable. Therefore all Clubs, including the Athenaeum, should be closed."

Advertising is an enormously powerful force. Professor Gilbert Murray appears to think that great danger lurks within that power. Of course it does. All power is dangerous. H. G. Wells, David Lloyd George and Douglas Fairbanks exert powerful influence. Ought they all to be condemned to solitary confinement lest they should use their power in a dangerous manner ?

Supposing all Advertising were suppressed, what would happen ? The cost of living would immediately rise. Unemployment would increase. All newspapers as we know them to-day would cease to exist : the cost of paper and printing alone exceeds the

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

price charged for most newspapers. It is the advertisement revenue which pays the whole cost of editing, news-gathering, managing, illustrating and the rest of the service which we accept as a matter of course, with little appreciation of its complexity and costliness or of its service to civilisation. The work of Government would be hindered. Commerce would be impeded in so many ways that it would be tedious to enumerate them.

These are only a few of the larger consequences. The personal inconvenience would be irritating beyond endurance. Magazines and books, if any could be published, would be almost prohibitive in price ; we should actually have to apply to publishers, either personally or by telephone, to find out what books had been produced. Do you suppose that the miserably attenuated sheets which newspapers would become would contain, as unpaid-for news, such particulars as these ?

A SOCIAL SERVICE

If they did, periodically, space would be far too precious for the information to be *repeated*. And of course newspapers would cost shillings where they now cost pence. Since it would pay nobody to erect hoardings the vacant building plots of towns, bespattered with an increased welter of filth and corruption, would be exposed in all their hideousness to public view. Imagine the dreariness of a London railway terminus with no posters to clothe its naked ugliness. And imagine—yes, even imagine the dullness of a newspaper without advertisements informing you where good value was procurable in household commodities like curtains and linen, without advertisements of new companies requiring capital, without information about new books, concerts, clothes and food, without information about all manner of new inventions and a hundred other items of intense usefulness. If you can still say seriously that these things do

ADVERTISING TO-DAY

not interest you, at least reflect upon this: they interest others. It is the periodical which contains the most advertisements which has the most readers.

Advertising has its abuses. There is not a single activity of the community which has not. Medicine, law, banking, the Church, none of them is immaculate. Neither is Advertising. A much more interesting speculation is whether the abuses from which Advertising suffers are going to destroy it, or whether the future of Advertising will see their removal.

III

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

Sir Chartres Biron has said that his "idea of heaven is a place where all advertisements are true." It is an attractive picture. And unless Sir Chartres' expectation of life in this world is even more modest than his contemplation of life in the next it may easily be his singular good fortune to enjoy a foretaste of the celestial bliss which he believes to be in store for him—a welcome respite from the usual anxiety.

For the popular notion that, as time goes on, advertisements will become increasingly clamorous, increasingly

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

thrust upon public attention in all kinds of inappropriate ways and places*, is needlessly pessimistic. The tendency of modern Advertising is to become more moderate. Advertising in the future will be more widely used, certainly. But it may be smaller in actual volume. It will be used for more varied purposes, but fewer advertisements will procure the necessary results.

There is good foundation for the assertion that advertisements will become more moderate in what they say. And the extravagance of some advertisements to-day should not cause people to think that the progress of Advertising is in this direction.

Shopkeeping is a very much older business function than Advertising. Yet shopkeepers still use wiles of salesmanship to sell merchandise that cannot be relied on. By no means all shop-

* Cf. the ardent prophecies of Mr H. G. Wells in *The Sleeper Awakes*.

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

keepers have discovered yet that it does not pay to deceive a customer. Not in all shops can you be certain that if a purchase does not come up to expectations, or the salesman's description, your money will be refunded, even after an argument. But as soon as shopkeeping came to be studied as a science, and a real attempt was made to find the principles which must be applied in order to make a shop successful, "money back if not satisfied" and truthful description of wares were among the first principles to be discovered.

By comparison, the infant business of Advertising, now that it has begun to be studied seriously, shows a welcome precocity. Principles which even centuries of experience have failed to make universal in shopkeeping have been perceived by advertisers in little more than fifty years. Probably the highest form of retail selling is practised by the department stores and multiple

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

shops : even some of these have yet to find that truth in salesmanship pays best. The discovery that the truth pays best in Advertising has been made in a much shorter space of time. It is already, by comparison, as widely applied. And it will be a complete reality perhaps even before it becomes universal in shopkeeping.

There are two other reasons why Advertising will quite certainly tend towards greater moderation. One of them is historical. Advertising in the eighteenth century was guilty of such excesses that when, later, the development of the factory system made Advertising essential to business, a serious problem presented itself. Advertising, before this, had been employed mainly by retail shopkeepers, and the temptation to claim far more for their wares than their quality justified had been too much for them. The inevitable result was the unhappy state of things so admirably described

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

by Dr Johnson.* Advertisements were "negligently perused" and held in contempt. But there was no escape from Advertising when the era of steam power, of mechanical processes of all kinds and of the factory system arrived. With the discovery of the means for producing merchandise cheaply and in a volume hitherto unknown, the means for disposing of it had to be found. Demand had to be promoted to absorb it. Advertising was the only remedy. A way out of the dilemma in which manufacturers found themselves was perceived. Exaggerated description had nearly extinguished the usefulness of Advertising. They chose the

* "Advertisements are now so numerous that they are very negligently perused, and it is therefore becoming necessary to gain attention by magnificence of promises and by eloquence sometimes sublime and sometimes pathetick. Promise, large promise, is the soul of an advertisement. . . . The trade of Advertising is now so near to perfection that it is not easy to propose any improvement."—*The Idler*, January 20th, 1759. Quoted by Thomas Russell in *Commercial Advertising*.

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

alternative of advertising without any description at all. They merely announced. EPPS COCOA : that and no more. But they said what they had to say "very loud and clear". They used black faced type and used it often. They exhausted every possibility and impossibility of the method. The middle nineteenth century saw some horrible excesses in the design of typefaces (as in most other things) and nothing was too hideous to use, no ingenuity so misplaced but that they swooped triumphantly upon it. A Pears Soap advertisement actually appeared which sought to provoke interest in this excellent commodity by leaving out the words Pears and Soap : it consisted merely of a picture of two pears.

Obviously this kind of thing could not last. But it had one good effect before it disappeared. Advertising of this kind was so inefficient that unless the merchandise thus announced

7 ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

sold itself after purchase it did not pay to announce it at all. And however ugly and inefficient it may have been, this kind of advertising did at least do one thing. Being strictly truthful, if nothing else, it restored public confidence in advertised wares. Confidence once restored, the necessity for such baldness disappeared. The pictures and phrases which had already begun to creep back were elaborated. Argument and description returned. And it is safe to say that, but for one development, the lesson so painfully learned and the moral so virtuously applied would have been forgotten.

This development marks, in reality, the birth of modern Advertising. It was the beginning of what has now become the service advertising agency, the gradual formation of a body of semi-professional men whose whole function was the study of Advertising as a business operation and the preparation of selling schemes and of advertise-

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

ments. A very large volume indeed of modern advertising is the work of advertising agents. Though advertising agents are not yet, by any means, a professional body, there is a very strong tendency for the agency business to develop in this direction. There is every justification for saying that as soon as a body of persons is accorded recognition as performing a useful function, it begins to realise the need for a standard of professional conduct. As recognition becomes more general the standard of conduct deemed necessary becomes more disciplinary. The medical profession would not be conducted on its present high plane had the British Medical Association not been formed. The restraining influence of the Law Society in a profession which had once a proverbially bad name is obvious. The consequences that would follow abolishing the rules governing the conduct of business on the Stock Exchange need no elaboration.

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

The intelligent men and women engaged in Advertising are nearly equally aware of the need for resolute discipline within the business.

The requisite professional body (The Association of British Advertising Agents) has already been in existence for some years. An infant among adult associations of a similar kind, it is not astonishing that it exhibits occasional growing pains : it would be exaggeration to term them convulsions. The important thing is that the need has been recognised and has been met by practical measures and with visible results.

Left to themselves manufacturers might not be successful in avoiding the obvious dangers of exaggeration in Advertising. But the time is within measurable distance when no advertiser will advertise without professional assistance of some kind—not necessarily through the employment of an advertising agent. Few people are so silly

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

as to engage in litigation without the assistance of trained lawyers, and in the future only a few manufacturers will be so silly as to employ Advertising without similar professional guidance. Even now (and the influence must widen) the existence of a semi-professional standard of conduct amongst advertising practitioners is exerting a restraint upon Advertising. There is a growing consciousness, outside the separate business of the advertising agent as well as within it, that the preparation of advertising is akin to professional work and that not only ought the business to be conducted according to certain standards, but the work itself should be done so as to avoid bringing discredit upon Advertising as an implement of commerce. There is a growing unwillingness that Advertising should be unscrupulously used. This tendency will develop and the result will be that if manufacturers are selfish enough to disregard it, and silly

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

enough to attempt to circumvent it for their own unscrupulous ends, they will find it increasingly hard and finally impossible to employ Advertising dishonestly. By this time there will be sufficient organised opposition from professional advertising men and women to prevent it.

An organised censorship of press advertisements could be set up now;* it is only the laziness and timidity of advertisers which prevent it. Advertising would take a stride forward equal to twenty years progress in public confidence, if such a censorship were instituted. It has been suggested that development within the business of Advertising itself will procure the universal dependability of Advertising in the future. Supposing that development to be less complete within the next generation than has been imagined, there are other signs which indicate

* A voluntary censorship already exists in the Billposting business.

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

a similar result, though it will be arrived at by slightly different methods. Already, some advertisement media (I mean by this newspapers, weekly and monthly publications, etc.) scrutinise advertisements submitted for publication.

More than ten years ago a weekly paper achieved a position of importance far in advance of its rivals by guaranteeing the genuineness of all the advertisements it published, and guaranteeing also that, if the advertiser would not refund the money to a dissatisfied reader, the paper itself would refund it. The scheme has been imitated, though not so widely as it deserves. But the tendency for this kind of arrangement to become the usual practice is unmistakable. One newspaper, at least, declines to publish certain kinds of objectionable advertisements, and exercises a censorship of its advertisement columns generally which leads one to suppose that the advertisement

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

manager's concern for the readers of the paper is far more sensitive than the proprietor's. Two monthly journals decline to publish patent medicine advertisements.

These schemes are far from perfectly worked at present. But the intention behind all these efforts for betterment is obvious. It arises from a growing realisation that dishonest advertisements discredit the periodical in which they appear. They lower it in the estimation of its readers. As time goes on it will be increasingly perceived that not only is this true, but also that the dishonest advertiser discredits *all* Advertising. The result (failing the developments suggested just now) will be a tripartite agreement between publishers, some protective association of advertisers, and the Association of British Advertising Agents whereby dishonest advertisements will be excluded from reputable periodicals. No suitable protective association of adver-

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

tisers yet exists, but it will be formed. Nor is the A.B.A.A. strong enough or well organised enough, yet, to negotiate such an agreement. But it will become strong enough. The only question upon which there is any doubt is whether such an agreement will, in practice, become necessary. The effect will be the same either way. The doubtful question is which will come first. Either it will be the tripartite agreement just proposed or else the retention of professional assistance (better organised and more enlightened than it is now) will be so general that this will make the negotiation of an agreement unnecessary. Perhaps the agreement will come first, and be superseded by the other. It is only a question of time.

In America this problem of untrustworthy advertising was tackled years ago. The advertising business of the U.S.A. is most fortunate in possessing a trade journal of great influence (*Printers' Ink*, published in New York).

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

This journal, being really interested in the welfare of Advertising, long ago perceived the vital importance of the question. It engaged the best legal talent available to draft a model statute enacting that any advertiser who published an advertisement containing any assertion, representation or statement of fact which was untrue or misleading should be guilty of a misdemeanour. With support from various quarters, but largely through its own finely conceived action, *Printers' Ink* procured the inclusion of its model statute in the laws of a large number of the States of the Union. This achieved, Vigilance Bureaux composed of men engaged in the advertising business itself were set up in a great many towns and these Bureaux undertook the arduous task of ensuring that the law should be respected. By a wonderful combination of tact and the strength conferred upon them by the Law these Bureaux have done magnificent work

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

in cleansing American advertising of abuses which were once flagrant. The result is that Advertising in the United States is a great many years ahead of Advertising in Great Britain in public esteem.

In Great Britain something of the same kind has been attempted. A British National Vigilance Committee exists. It is a voluntary effort and it is trying to do good work. But it suffers in two respects. It does not retain a trained and highly paid lawyer, as the American organisation does. And it has not the law behind it. Hence its influence is at present negligible. But the attempt is being made: that is the point which needs to be known.

All these beginnings point to the same thing: that the future must see Advertising used in a far more enlightened manner than it is used now.

The manufacturer of to-day commonly believes Advertising (when he

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

believes in it at all) to depend chiefly upon the "copy" (that is the wording of advertisements) employed. This is bad enough. What is worse is that he also believes that he is an infallible judge of what is good advertisement copy. He cannot resist seizing the pen which the copy-writer has used effectively, and setting about the job himself.

The results of his lack of skill are deplorably prevalent, and of themselves do a good deal to shake public confidence in advertisements. The public cannot fairly be expected to believe the verbiage into which much extremely competent advertisement copy is converted by the futile interference of manufacturers. It has been remarked that since the manufacturer pays the paper he is entitled to spoil the tune. No doubt. It is freely admitted that all advertisement copy must of necessity be submitted to the client who engages an advertising agent in order to avoid inaccuracies. But

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

a manufacturer fighting a case in the Courts is not such a fool as to dictate to Counsel the manner of his addresses to judge and jury. Putting aside a barrister's knowledge of the intricacies of the law, the preparation and statement of a manufacturer's "case" in the form of advertisements is every whit as highly skilled a piece of work as a barrister's advocacy of his client's case to a jury. It is entitled to as much respect at the hands of the manufacturer. And the manufacturer who interferes with it wantonly is doing a thing as silly as if he intervened between Counsel and jury. Of course if a manufacturer employs incompetent advice, he has only himself to blame. But when copy has been written by a skilled advertisement writer, has been revised by a departmental manager and has received the approval of the principals of the agency, nothing but harm is likely to be done by alterations introduced by the manufacturer.

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

But advertisement copy is far from being the most important element in Advertising. The swollen importance that it possesses in the minds of many advertisers will disappear in a very few years time, and manufacturers will come to realise that the market research which should precede an advertising campaign, the determination of the policy which should govern it, the scheme of the campaign itself, and the correlation of production, sales, merchandising and advertising plans which is essential, are work that can only be done with the assistance of professional men who have made the enormous problem of marketing their own particular study. This professional assistance may be provided by advertising agencies (if so, they will by that time have developed into a much larger thing—marketing agencies) or by independent market engineers. Some firms will retain market engineers who will devote their whole time to

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

one firm's business, much as advertising managers are retained by some firms to-day. But they will be men of a different calibre and they will occupy positions of far greater importance. The number of present-day advertising managers of real knowledge and originality is extremely limited. This is only natural, the power of Advertising being very imperfectly understood as yet. Many advertising managers to-day look after the advertising of their firms in their spare time ! They are little better than somewhat ambitious clerks. All this will be altered.

There can be hardly any question about the supreme importance of marketing in the future. The whole prosperity of industry in this country will depend upon it. We have solved the problem of production.* The

* What we have not yet found, however, is how to procure cordial relations between employers and workpeople which will ensure that full effect can be given to efficient methods of manufacture.

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

problem of the future will be marketing. Even to-day we can produce most goods as efficiently as any other country. It is in the selling of them that we fail. If at the present time the markets could be found this country could solve its unemployment problem and return to a condition of thriving activity in twelve months. The realisation of this is already awakening. No one expects a continent to be a hive of industry after the most ruinously destructive war ever known. Recovery is bound to be slow. But even now it is obvious that the serious situation confronting British industry is not only a question of markets which have disappeared ; it is also a question of markets which we have failed to find for ourselves. In the future we shall understand this better than we do now. It will be seen that markets, if they fail to appear can be created. We have sat still too long and waited for the domestic market, and, much more, foreign

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

markets, to start buying again after periods of depression. In the future manufacturers will employ marketing experts to prepare plans to *sell* merchandise, to *create* markets. Advertising will play an enormously prominent and important part in this work. The same far-sighted imagination and skilled knowledge which have used Advertising again and again in the past to uncover domestic markets for new and hitherto undreamed of inventions, to promote large demand where none whatever previously existed, to create trade in merchandise, the need for which was formerly unrealized—this same skill will be employed to produce markets abroad, as well as at home.

People are apt to think of Advertising to-day as having reached such dimensions that further expansion is hardly imaginable. The positive fact is that looking at British industry as a whole it is actually an exception for a manufacturer to employ Advertising. Far

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

less than 10% of British manufacturers employ it as a serious business operation.

This will change. It must change, unless British industrial prosperity is to fall away to an alarming degree. As the change occurs, and once seriously begun progress is likely to be rapid, the professional standing of those engaged in marketing and Advertising will rise to a height of very considerable importance.

I have called Advertising a social service. In its broad aspects it cannot be fairly described in any other way. Unfortunately people blind themselves to the broad aspects of Advertising and judge all of it by the small proportion of catch-penny advertising of worthless patent medicines, electric belts and the like. No one denies the existence of this rubbish and no one condemns it more heartily than advertising men themselves. It does immense harm by discrediting the immeasurably larger volume of honest

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

advertising. But do let us realise that these dirty slums of Advertising are insignificant in comparison with the wide domain of clean Advertising, and their effect in deceiving the fools who can alone be victims is negligible in comparison with the social benefits derived from serious commercial Advertising. It is amazing that the short-sighted greed of newspaper publishers has for so long prevented them from making a clean sweep of deceptive advertisements. The first newspaper to decline them and to announce and adhere resolutely to a policy of selling its space only to honest advertisers will make a fortune for its proprietor. The arrival of the time when all publications are conducted on such lines will not be long delayed. One generation will probably effect it. And in the next generation *all* Advertising will be dependable. In the next generation "Truth in Advertising" will not be the dream of well intentioned

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

enthusiasts, or the catchword of charlatans desiring a cry to which they may pay bombastic lip-service : it will be a reality.

In the early summer of 1924 an association known as the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World held its annual Convention at the British Empire Exhibition. Dominated, so far as Great Britain is concerned, largely by the older generation of advertising men, the Convention adopted the watchword "Truth in Advertising," and with prophetic irony selected as a symbol a female form which, as a younger generation of the business irreverently observed, was but scantily clothed in the shining garment of Truth.

The result of the undesirable clamour which blared this watchword abroad was to direct public attention to the occasions when Advertising is less truthful than it ought to be. The plain fact emerges that though, as I have

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

repeated to the point of tediousness, Advertising is to-day for the most part dependable, and reveals many signs of becoming increasingly dependable, there are still a few sections of it which are misleading to the point of fraud. There is no desire to deny this. But a good deal of time has been spent, some of it perhaps rather tiresomely, in describing the very numerous indications which point to a condition of affairs when Advertising will, without any reservations, be entitled to entire confidence from the public. Let us discuss the results of this condition.

It is a personal fancy of mine that Advertising in the future will be much more purely informative than it is now. It is freely granted that hardly any advertisement copy can wholly avoid an emotional appeal. I do not even think it ought to. The prejudice admitted is founded on the belief that in the future people will have learned to think more clearly than they do now,

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

and that, in consequence, informative advertisements, based upon reason, will be more effective. However this may be and upon whatever lines advertising copy does develop, it will be trustworthy.

The advertisement columns of any popular paper are now at least as dependable as the news columns ; they are no more biassed than the editorial columns of the more old-fashioned newspapers ; and they are frequently better written than the fiction beside which they appear in the weekly and monthly periodicals. I do not expect to be believed when I say this—until the incredulity with which the assertion is received provokes the reader to a careful comparison of news, fiction and advertisements.

The literary quality of advertisements in the future will of course be much higher than it is now. Advertisements will be more interesting as well as completely dependable. But it is

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

the public's appreciation of their trustworthiness, as well as its realisation of their usefulness, which will provide the most interesting results. When, as a result of the various developments already suggested, the public *consciously* and gratefully turns to Advertising for information (and perhaps even entertainment), when advertisements no longer compete for attention but have attention deliberately bestowed upon them, when the truth of what is said in an advertisement is accepted as a matter of course—when this time arrives the uses to which Advertising can be put will be enormously widened. But it is to be remarked that less advertising will be needed to procure the desired result. A full page advertisement to-day is highly successful if (as the first of a series announcing a new product) it procures a direct response from 2% of the circulation of the periodical in which it appears. This is really a ridiculous figure. In

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

the future such an advertisement will be far more effective. Hence fewer advertisements will need to be employed for an individual purpose. Thus Advertising in the future will be much more varied but there may actually be less of it.

Its character will change too. Persistent repetition is the very essence of successful advertising to-day. It is ignorance of this which leads to the few failures which have to be recorded. In reality it is never Advertising which fails. It is either that the wrong sort of Advertising was employed or that the cumulative results of it were not procured : the advertising was abandoned before it had time to succeed. I have never seen the theory of Advertising more simply or more clearly stated than it was some time ago by Mr. A. H. Deute in *Printers' Ink* (New York) and I cannot do better than quote Mr Deute's article :

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

"The mass of people is not inclined to maintain sustained mental effort. These people may or may not be able to maintain this effort, but the fact remains that they do not do so.

The small minority, willing to maintain this continual mental effort and exert sustained pressure on the great majority can, therefore, and constantly does, sway the majority to its way of thinking.

If the thought of the small minority is correct and the results it attains are worthy and useful, then the great majority is glad to continue to follow the practice, not giving much serious thought to it one way or another.

And thus we might say that we state the theory of advertising and selling.

The great mass of men wear shirts. The men know they must buy shirts. They want good shirts for the money—good in style and comfort and value. They are not particularly and vitally interested in who makes them. Then along comes an individual, or possibly it is a company—a group of a few men.

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

They make shirts just as other men make shirts. But these few men in their small group put a name on each shirt. They put back of that name a good product—one which satisfies. And then they start to get that name before their public and keep it there. They are advertising and selling their brand of shirt.

The first impression resulting from their advertising is necessarily small. But if their next advertisement appears before the first one has had time to be forgotten, cumulative value commences. If nobody else starts to talk about his make of shirts before long the advertiser pre-empts the market. In other words, his make of shirt is the only one well known, and people either ask for it by name or come to accept with a little added satisfaction a shirt which bears that name.

And thus the great majority, not willing to maintain sustained mental effort when it comes to thinking about shirts, is perfectly willing to let itself be influenced—"sold" a brand—by

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

the minority interested in selling that make of shirt. If the product gives satisfaction, it takes a great big jolt by some other mentality to get the great majority to think hard enough and long enough to drive one brand out of its mind and put another name there. That is why once a good brand has secured a hold on the mentality of the great majority, giving that majority good service results in the development of a constantly growing support. Unconsciously, the great majority is satisfied. It sees no real reason why it should exercise sustained mental effort and change its buying method.

And yet it is being changed every day. 'An old brand is being superseded by a new brand. The force of advertising and selling applied to a greater degree to a new product gradually makes it self felt.

Thus, we realise why it is that it is so fatal for the owner of a brand to sit back complacently and say to himself "Why should I continue to advertise ? Everybody knows my product. If a

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

man wants one, he buys it. If he doesn't, he won't. And advertising can't do anything more for me."

Along the same lines, realising that it is hard for the great majority to maintain long-sustained mental effort, we see why the man who stops advertising for one year, two years, three years, so often finds it impossible to resume advertising with his old-time profitable returns. During the time that he neglected his great majority, during the time that his own small minority failed to maintain the sustained mental effort, somebody else came along and applied that sustained mental effort so strongly that it made its impress on the mentality of the majority and unconsciously they drifted in that direction."

Naturally, not merely sustained mental effort, but superior sustained mental effort dominates."

In the future the condition described here will not exist to anything like the same extent. Persistent repetition is

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

necessary to-day because the influence of Advertising is so largely on the subconscious mind. It has been shown that even when the advertisement is a full page one (which has the highest possible "attention value") 98% of the public informed makes no direct response whatever—when it is the first advertisement of a new product. This does not mean that the advertisement is almost wholly ineffective. It only means that only 2% of the public to which it is directed acts upon it. No one can tell what proportion of the public receives a subconscious impression from it. All we know is that such a subconscious impression is made and that in time, if we persist, the subconscious impressions are converted into conscious demand. The man who says he never reads advertisements does not know that he is talking nonsense. But you will always find, upon diligent enquiry, that he has numerous advertised articles among his

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

possessions, and that he bought them because their familiar names gave him a sense of satisfaction.

When Advertising is accorded conscious recognition, its form will, as I have said, change. There will be less repetition. The catch phrases that advertisers call slogans (recovering a good old Scottish word from America) will fall into disuse because they will be unnecessary. Advertisements will probably occupy smaller spaces (except perhaps for the initial announcements of new discoveries) in newspapers and magazines. They will not need to be so large, nor so boldly or attractively or trickily displayed, because they will have ceased to compete for attention with editorial matter: they will be accorded attention for their own sake. Neither will they be accompanied by irrelevant pictures to the same extent that they are to-day. When pictures are used, and they will still be used freely, they will be illustrations.

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

Pictures will cease to be used to procure attention and will be used only when they are more efficient than words in the explanation of a point in the text. Diagrams, plans and graphs will be increasingly used. Any pictorial accompaniment will help the argument or enable a meaning to be more clearly conveyed. Beautiful typefaces, always designed to combine legibility with comeliness, will be increasingly employed. And of course beautiful borders and printers flowers and ornaments will be widely used to help in the conveying of an atmosphere of quality, just as they are now. But there will be an artistic economy in all such embellishment. Everything of the kind will be simpler, more direct, than it is now. For the future will be an age of economy in all directions, economy of effort, of effect, and of labour.

Dissatisfaction is felt already with a system that enables wholesalers, com-

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

mission agents, brokers and retailers to intervene between the manufacturer and the public. It is extremely doubtful whether some of these are necessary. Some manufacturers have tried the experiment of cutting out the wholesale houses altogether and of selling direct to the retailer. They have elaborated their organisations and are trying to lower distribution costs by doing the wholesaler's work more efficiently themselves. Others have gone further still and have cut out both wholesalers and retailers. They have opened their own retail shops and have become retailing manufacturers. The economy of these developments, if they can be efficiently worked, is obvious. If these experiments turn out successfully some very interesting results may be seen. If in the future manufacturers become their own retailers marketing will be greatly simplified. With Advertising to produce the necessary demand a manufacturer will not need to employ

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

any travellers, provided he has a sufficient number of retail shops to supply that demand. His shops will automatically stock his wares. The slow and expensive process earlier described of persuading reluctant shopkeepers to put new lines into stock will be eliminated. This alone should represent an enormous saving, and the advantage does not stop here.

The ordinary retail shop of to-day is really a very inefficient concern. Accurate costing hardly exists (I am speaking of privately owned shops, of course, not of the department stores and multiple shops, which are highly organised) the quality of salesmanship is poor, buying and stock-taking are badly done, and the service provided for customers is often abominable.

With many competing lines in stock it is not surprising that shopkeepers do very little to push any particular article. But it is astonishing how little the average retailer does to create

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

customers for his shop. Consider then the increased efficiency as a channel of distribution which a shop will possess when its whole staff, co-operating actively and intelligently with the manufacturer who owns it and keeps it supplied, is keenly interested in pushing the sale of the manufacturer's wares. Some indication of this is provided by the vigour with which a shopkeeper to-day will push the sale of a privately owned brand in face of the demand promoted for an advertised brand of the same article. It is never to his real advantage to do this, but the fact that he is personally interested in the private brand causes him to disregard his own interests and to steal the demand promoted by the advertiser.

With a personal interest in *all* the stock retail selling staffs will certainly quicken retail turnover. It will be possible for the unit profit on a sale to be smaller on account of the multiplied

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

sales which will be procured in a given period.

It may be suggested that such retailing manufacturers will only exist where the article manufactured enables shops to be successfully run on *one* article—as boot shops are run now. But I do not think this objection a very real one. Why should not a number of manufacturers combine to open chains of shops to retail their wares? Would a varied stock mean a return to the present state of retail apathy? Would the multiplication of stock again lead to lack of interest on the part of the selling staff? I do not think so. The arrangement could insure that the articles sold did not compete. At any rate one thing would be procured: progress in retail selling methods. If the plan of retailing manufacturers became at all general, the whole business of shop-keeping would become much more efficient than it is now. Prices would certainly be lower as a result. Already

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

it is becoming recognised that sales-managers are all wrong when they imagine that the problem of distribution has been solved when the merchandise is "sold" to the retail shops. It is being seen that a manufacturer does not "sell" goods to retailers at all: he uses the retail shop as a distributing channel and his goods are not sold until the public has been persuaded to go in and buy them.

This realisation, coupled with the two tendencies already described to cut out wholesalers and retailers, seems to me to point to the new system of retailing manufacturers.

The anxiety to do things in a more direct way, with as few intermediaries as possible, may have a marked effect upon the relations between advertisers and newspapers. Remember, by this time Advertising will be attentively studied by the public: and will be read for its own sake. Bear this in mind. When this time arrives, adver-

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

tisers, familiar with enterprises which do things by direct methods, may incline to a more direct method of press advertising.

To-day, it is the revenue derived from advertisements which, for all practical purposes, enables newspapers, weeklies and magazines to be produced and sold for a few pence. A newspaper, a more expensive press enterprise than any, could not pay for printing, ink and paper out of the revenue received from subscribers—that is out of the price for which the paper is sold. Editing, managing, news service and the rest are paid for by the advertisement revenue. Advertisers willingly pay the price demanded for advertisement space in newspapers now. Newspaper advertising is, under present conditions, amazingly cheap—cheaper per thousand of circulation than any other kind of press Advertising. It is also by far the most powerful form of advertising: nothing compares with it

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

for producing results. But all this applies only to conditions as we know them to-day. What of the time when those conditions are radically altered ? What is going to happen when advertisements no longer compete with editorial matter for attention—when advertisements are read for their interest as generally as news is read ? Will advertisers then be content to pay most of the cost of newspaper production ? It seems very doubtful. Will they seek a more direct method of press advertising by embarking upon the enterprise of newspaper production for themselves ? This has been done for political ends ; why not do it for commercial ends ? No such development as this is likely to be wide enough to cause newspaper proprietors much anxiety. But it does seem probable that in the future there must be some more equitable arrangement between advertisers and newspapers than exists now. It is fair enough now (I have

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

said that newspaper advertising is amazingly cheap) but it will not be fair when public appreciation of the usefulness of Advertising becomes general.

If manufacturers' newspapers arrive, and if they procure any considerable circulation, this may bring to a head the question of the revenue which pays for newspapers. What is more probable is that wireless communication may make newsgathering less expensive. So may developments in printing. And together these may lead to a different division of the profits of newspaper enterprise. Before now the publication of advertisements has actually sent up a newspaper's circulation. This fact is extremely significant. Some non-fiction magazines (as distinct from newspapers) are already bought very largely for the sake of the advertisements they contain. Again, newspapers may cost less to produce in the future because the public may demand

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

a different kind of newspaper. With the advance of education it is hardly likely that the popular notion of a successful newspaper of to-day can persist. In the future education will arrive at the point where it ceases to cram people with a curious assortment of more or less unrelated facts ; the education of the future will teach people to think, to form ideas independently, to examine and reject. A newspaper which was merely a succession of "stunts," of suppression and manipulation, would not be tolerated in a community able to think constructively and critically. The newspaper proprietor of the future will be just as clever as he is now in giving the public what it wants. And as the public will want a different kind of newspaper altogether, it will get it.

The new uses for which Advertising will be employed will be numerous. For instance, by this time, the relations between employers and workpeople

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

must have reached a more cordial basis. And just as a certain amount of co-operation exists now in the field of production, so co-operation, to a greater degree, will exist in the future in the field of marketing. Already whole industries have combined, so far as employers are concerned, to advertise on a non-competitive basis. The Scotch Tweed industry, for instance, formed an association and advertised Scotch Tweeds. No individual manufacturers' name was ever mentioned. But by permission of the Board of Trade a Trade Mark was registered which could only be applied to genuine Scotch Tweed "manufactured in Scotland of pure new wool, without cotton, shoddy, mungo, remanufactured wool or any other admixture except silk for decorative purposes." This Trade Mark was advertised to the public and the public was thus able to distinguish genuine Scotch Tweeds of high quality from cheap foreign tweeds which,

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

though they look the same to the inexpert eye, are in reality poor stuff.

The future will see non-competitive advertising of this kind carried much further. Very probably the trades union (whose workmen benefit from the prosperity which results from such advertising) will contribute. A fully co-operative advertising scheme (I think for a particular kind of wood paving) has already appeared in America, supported by employers and work-people. The future may easily see mine-owners and mine workers combining to advertise the advantages of buying coal in the summer (while it is cheap) as part of a scheme to equalise the demand for coal in summer and winter.

It is very probable that Advertising will be used again by political parties in the future. The law will be altered when the usefulness of Advertising is better understood. Certainly during general elections, and probably while

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

Parliament is sitting, the various parties will employ Advertising not only to put their election programmes before the country but to expound their creeds. At the last general election the published manifestoes of the Conservative and Liberal parties were stated in such abstruse terms that only a fairly keen student of politics can have understood them. The mass of the electorate generally, if it managed to wade through them at all, must have been completely floored. In the future political manifestoes having been drawn up by the party chiefs will be translated into English by advertisement writers and published in the advertisement columns of the newspapers of the opposing party. To publish a Liberal manifesto in the Liberal newspapers is to preach to the converted. It addresses people already holding Liberal views, who would vote Liberal anyhow, and hardly anyone else. Similarly, meetings addressed by Liberal speakers

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

are listened to chiefly by Liberal voters, who go to cheer their heroes on to fresh victories over political enemies who never come within range. Both sides march triumphantly up and down the country carrying all before them—except the enemy. It is all very heartening but it does not turn many votes. And, anyhow, the number of electors attending political meetings is insignificant compared with the electoral register.

The political Advertising of the future will solve this difficulty, and perhaps for the first time the great mass of voters will be fully informed and will properly understand not only the issues before the country but the methods which each party would apply to deal with them. This political advertising will be dynamic, it will be creative. It will state the programmes of the parties in language understandable by the People. It will provoke interest in politics. Such Advertising

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

will come long before education has taught people that politics are the concern of all of us. Hence it will be used to awaken interest in the government of the country. Speeches of political leaders, reported fully only in their own party newspapers, and abbreviated (sometimes to the point of virtual extinction) in opposing newspapers, are not enough for the political education of the masses. Advertising will supply the need for more widely spread, more actively educative political information.

Similarly, Government Departments will advertise officially. Such Advertising, since it will use public money, will be strictly non-contentious, of course. It will be an extension of the Treasury advertising of the war period which procured enormous loans of money for the use of the State at a negligible cost. Before the war the War Office employed Advertising to procure recruits and got a year's

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

recruits in two months at a cost of 10s. a head instead of 30s. It costs money to procure a recruit for the Army just as it costs money to procure customers for goods. Advertising lowered this cost.

The future will see the Board of Agriculture publishing instructive advertisements in farm papers on the latest farming methods. The Post Office will increase the deposits in the Post Office Savings Bank by advertisements encouraging thrift. It will advertise the usefulness of the telephone. It may publish advertisements in business papers and send printed matter direct to business houses, pointing out the increased trade that can be procured by means of circularising, thus increasing the Department's revenue from the sale of postage stamps. The Ministry of Health will certainly use Advertising as a means of issuing advice on the care of the teeth and the avoidance of influenza (if no cure

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

has been discovered) probably being joined in this useful enterprise by the Dental Board of the United Kingdom and the British Medical Association. It will use Advertising to promote organised warfare upon pests such as rats and mice and flies. The Board of Education will use Advertising to procure students for continuation schools.* The Board of Education may also conduct advertising campaigns of an educative kind—finely written, stimulating, mind-enlarging advertisements—on behalf of such national treasure houses as The British Museum, The National Portrait Gallery, the South Kensington Museum and so on.

At the present time the expense of printing and posting thousands of repeated demands for income tax must be very large indeed. And the reluctant and belated way in which payments are made makes the collection of income

* The London County Council now uses posters to procure students for evening classes.

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

tax a protracted and costly process. In the future, Advertising will probably be used to persuade people to pay their income tax more promptly ; this will make its collection less expensive.*

It is quite conceivable that the Liberal or Labour Party may be courageous enough to employ Advertising as a means of creating public opinion to prevent a threatened war. I believe that two hundred thousand pounds spent on press advertising immediately the European crisis arose in 1914 could have kept this country out of the war. Whether this would have been a good thing or a bad is a matter of opinion.

This question is far too large a one to be discussed here. Statesmanship will have to undertake the responsibility if Advertising is ever used to create public opinion against a threatened

* Why not employ a modern marketing method and offer a small cash discount for prompt payment ?

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

outbreak, and it will be a heavy one. But it is certain that a powerful advertising campaign in the press would make it very difficult for any Government to carry public opinion with it into a war, and a Government might be afraid to apply a press censorship to stop such advertising. In the war of 1914-1918 any party which had then publicly advocated our neutrality would have had to face a situation so frightfully charged with responsibility that one cannot easily imagine such an action. Nor would it have done any good for Great Britain alone to have refused to enter the war. But in the future there will be a party in every country opposed to war and if there could be any organised international advertising campaign setting forth a reasoned case in favour of settlement by negotiation it is perfectly conceivable that such action would prevent the hideous folly of war being committed.

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

Books and pictures will in the future be advertised imaginatively, instead of being merely announced. It may not be commercially practicable now to advertise an exhibition of a collection of modern paintings or sculpture in a London newspaper by means of displayed advertisements. But the increased public appreciation of Advertising in the next generation will certainly make it possible and such exhibitions will not be baldly announced any more ; they will be vividly described. The advertisements will do the one necessary thing which they fail so deplorably to do now ; they will so describe the lovely things to be seen that people will hunger to go and look at them.

Concerts and recitals will be similarly advertised, and actresses, instead of employing press agents, as they do now, to disseminate futile rubbish about lost jewellery and invented details, which if they describe violence to the person or the mind may with certainty

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

be sneaked into any popular newspaper as live news, will employ straightforward, well written advertisements of much the same kind as the gramophone companies employ now to popularise the records of individual singers and pianists.

Plays will be advertised in the same vivid way. Series of plays produced under one management will be made popular by advertisements describing the past successes and future plans of the producing interest. People will be told that if a play is produced by —Reandean for example—it is certain to be clever and interesting. Plays will be trade-marked as it were. By this time, probably, a system will govern the letting of theatres. Thus certain groups of theatres will present nothing but modern comedies. Spectacular productions will be given at a second group; melodrama at a third—and so forth. By this means it would be possible for the different

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

groups of theatres to stand for certain kinds of productions, and Advertising could be employed to maintain steady followings of the different groups. This would be frankly impossible now, but it may be practicable in the future.

In making these suggestions for the wider employment of Advertising, I run a double risk. First, some of the suggestions may be preposterously ill-conceived, ill-adapted to present conditions. This does not matter because the future may see developments which will remove practical difficulties now believed to be insurmountable. Secondly, some suggestions which appear perfectly appropriate to me may outrage more conservative opinion. This cannot be helped: any writer must be willing to submit to the charge of being vulgar minded.

But of two things I am quite sure. Advertising will become more moderate; and it will less and less be used in any way which could outrage opinion

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

generally. The need for such an organisation as exists in the Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising (conducted by persons eminent in other spheres but so recently acquainted with Advertising that they have not even reflected that Advertising could hardly be otherwise than public) will disappear. It is being realised already that a sign which spoils a beautiful landscape is not only an offence to the eye but is a very ineffective advertisement. The few signs which offend in this respect will disappear. So, I believe, will electric light signs, though these are not always and in all places objectionable. Many of the buildings now covered with such signs would be much uglier if the signs were removed. In the future, when a building is erected on a site constantly visible to thousands of people it will be deliberately designed (by the architect) to accommodate posters. Spaces on the face of the

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

building will be set aside for this purpose so as to form a part of the decorative scheme. They will be for posters rather than electric signs. The electric sign, which at its costly best is an unimportant, because individual and spasmodic, form of advertisement, will disappear. Repetition is of the highest importance to press advertising ; in outdoor advertising (which always reminds and hardly ever expounds) it is absolutely essential. Hence the electric sign which is one isolated attempt to gain attention, and therefore intrinsically weak (apart from the fact that the more ingenious its working the more it draws attention to itself and away from the article it is trying to advertise) will give place to well arranged hoardings, flood lit so that their message is visible both by day and by night. Such hoardings will be obviously more efficient, because there can be hundreds of them where there can only be one electric sign, and because posters can

ADVERTISING TO-MORROW

illustrate an argument and convey a selling point far more effectively than an electric sign consisting of globes.

All commercial methods and hence all Advertising will be more efficient in the future and this pursuit of efficiency alone (apart from ethical considerations) will ensure that Advertising is preserved from abuse. It will be seen that it is only commonsense to use Advertising, both in the press and on the hoardings, in such a manner that public opinion will acclaim it. Advertising will not thrust itself where it is unwanted. It will be, in the highest sense, a public service.

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